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NOTE

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2427th MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 29 March 1983, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2427)

1. Adoption of the agenda.

2. Letter dated 22 March 1983 from the Deputy Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15651).

The meeting was called to order at 4 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 22 March 1983 from the Deputy Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15651)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at previous meetings on this item [*2420th to 2426th meetings*], I invite the representative of Honduras to take a place at the Security Council table. I invite the representatives of Algeria, Argentina, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, Ghana, Grenada, Hungary, India, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Italy, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Panama, Peru, the Philippines, Spain, the Syrian Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela, Viet Nam and Yugoslavia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ortez Colindres (Honduras) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Abada (Algeria), Mr. Muñiz (Argentina), Mr. Moseley (Barbados), Miss Dever (Belgium), Mr. Salazar Paredes (Bolivia), Mr. Bueno (Brazil), Mr. Tsvetkov (Bulgaria), Mr. Sanz de Santamaría (Colombia), Mr. Zumbado Jiménez (Costa Rica), Mr. Roa Kourí (Cuba), Mr. Moushoutas (Cyprus), Mr. Suja (Czechoslovakia), Mr. Al-Alfi (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Knipping Victoria (Dominican Republic), Mr. Albornoz (Ecuador), Mr. Chávez-Mena (El Salvador), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. van Well (Federal Republic of Germany), Mr. Gbeho (Ghana), Mr. Taylor (Grenada), Mr. Rácz (Hungary), Mr. Purushottam (India), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. La Rocca (Italy), Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Maudave (Mauritius), Mr. Muñoz Ledo (Mexico), Mr. Narkhuu (Mongolia), Mr. Ozores Typaldos (Panama), Mr. Pastor de la Torre (Peru), Mr. Arcilla (Philippines), Mr. de Piniés (Spain), Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Rupia (United Republic of Tanzania), Mrs. Coronel de Rodríguez (Venezuela), Mr. Hoang Bich Son (Viet Nam) and Mr. Silović (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Guatemala and Uruguay in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Quiñones-Amézquita (Guatemala) and Mr. Blanco (Uruguay) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT: The first speaker is the representative of Hungary. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

4. Mr. RÁCZ (Hungary): At the outset, allow me, Sir, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of March and wish you success in the performance of your important task. I hope that, under your experienced guidance, the Council will contribute to solving the issue on the agenda. I wish also to express appreciation for the exemplary and successful manner in which Mr. Troyanovsky discharged his functions as President of the Council last month.

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5. On 23 March [*2420th meeting*] the Council heard the statement of the representative of Nicaragua on the armed aggression against his country from the territory of Honduras. We have also received information from the international press on this act of aggression. As a result of this military attack, the situation in Central America, which has been tense for a long time, has further deteriorated. For this reason, we consider these Council meetings timely and necessary in order to discuss this important question.

6. Exactly one year ago the Government of Nicaragua asked for the convening of the Council because of the growing threat against its security from outside forces. The majority of the Member States that participated in the discussion at that time called for a peaceful solution of the dispute and condemned the interference in the internal affairs of sovereign Central American States. A draft resolution was submitted by Guyana and Panama [*S/14941*], calling for dialogue among the parties with a view to settling the conflict peacefully. The draft resolution appealed to all Member States to refrain from direct, indirect, covert or overt use of force. As we all know, it was the United States which vetoed that draft resolution.

7. Since that meeting events in Central America have taken a turn for the worse. Counter-revolutionary gangs, trained in special camps in Honduras and other places—as widely shown on American television stations—have crossed the borders of Nicaragua and carried out armed attacks against Nicaraguan installations. This armed aggression is an organic continuation of earlier preparations and subversive actions and, at the same time, indicates that the complaint by Nicaragua a year ago was fully justified. If anyone still has any doubts as to why, where and by whom this aggression has been prepared, organized and financed, he need only refer to the article by Mr. Landau in yesterday's edition of *The New York Times*.

8. The issue before us today is an ever-increasing threat from outside against the people and the Government of Nicaragua which is aimed at the social, economic and political progress achieved after the victory of the revolutionary forces on 19 July 1979. The people of Nicaragua in a long struggle defeated one of the most oppressive régimes in the world, the hateful dictatorship of Somoza. But there are certain forces which question the right of the people of Nicaragua to choose its own social and political system. Furthermore, these forces not only question the sovereign right of the people of Nicaragua but keep trying to interfere in its domestic affairs by intimidation, aggressive demonstrations of force and concrete acts of aggression. This is the issue before us today and with which the Council must deal seriously in order to prevent it from deepening and escalating.

9. At this juncture I should like to associate myself with those delegations—the overwhelming majority—which emphasized that it is the legitimate right of all peoples to choose their social and political system without outside interference. It is very indicative that many delegations have asked to speak in this debate, and almost all of them have condemned the aggression and expressed support for and solidarity with the people of Nicaragua. The documents of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries have also condemned interference in the internal affairs of Nicaragua and have called on the United States to demonstrate a more reasonable attitude towards the social, economic and political problems of Central America in order to find a peaceful solution to them.

10. My delegation also supports the views of Latin American countries concerning the root causes of the recent political, social and economic crisis in Central America. It is the social injustices, inequality and poverty that cry out for revolutionary changes. The crisis in Central America can be solved only by satisfying the demands of the people by political and economic means and by putting an end to all outside manoeuvres aimed at damping this process, as clearly demonstrated in the recent actions the Council is considering now.

11. The peace proposals made during the debate yesterday by the Deputy Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua [*2424th meeting, paras. 46 and 47*], as well as those made previously by the four Latin American Foreign Ministers in Contadora Island, offer an acceptable basis for all parties to achieve peace and tranquillity in the region. My delegation supports those proposals. It is our fervent hope that the parties concerned will accept them in the interests of peace and security in Central America and the world over.

12. It is also the hope of my delegation that the Council's discussion will contribute to the peaceful solution of this dangerous situation by directing the attention of the international community to the aggression and to the forces behind it. This act of aggression cannot be justified; it can only be resolutely condemned as a violation of the most elementary norms of international law and of the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations.

13. On 23 March the Hungarian Solidarity Committee issued a statement condemning the armed attack by counter-revolutionary forces against the people and Government of Nicaragua in the most resolute manner and expressed the solidarity of our people with the people of Nicaragua. That statement also emphasized that the Hungarian people would continue to support the people of Nicaragua in its effort to build a just and democratic society.

14. Here, before the Council, I should like to reiterate that my Government resolutely condemns the armed aggression against Nicaragua and the foreign forces behind it and demands an end to interference in the internal affairs of that country.

15. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

16. Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (Islamic Republic of Iran): Sir, I should like to congratulate you on presiding over the Council this month and indeed, over this very important meeting. I should also like to thank and congratulate your predecessor, who skilfully and successfully conducted the presidential affairs of the Council last month.

17. This is the third series of Security Council meetings in the three months since the last session of the General Assembly—each month, one series of meetings—to debate some form of American aggression and intervention. In this meeting too, I shall start my intervention with a verse from the Holy Koran: "And soon will the unjust aggressors know what vicissitudes their affairs shall take."

18. The Council is meeting once again to consider yet another manifestation of the expansionist and hegemonic policy of the United States, which is, as usual, involved in illegal intervention in the internal affairs of other countries. The small yet great and revolutionary people and Government of Nicaragua in the past four years—which means ever since their revolution embraced victory—have been the victims of countless acts of aggression by the United States, inflicted upon them either directly or through the lackeys of imperialism in the area.

19. This is not unexpected. However, has anyone ever heard of any friendly relations between the United States and any revolutionary people or Government? The devouring United States imperialism is well known for its constitutional animosity towards the freedom and independence of small nations such as Nicaragua.

20. The representative of Nicaragua presented a detailed report of the recent developments on the Nicaraguan-Honduran border to the Council on 23 March [*2420th meeting*]. The American imperialists have been trying to destabilize and ultimately to overthrow the revolutionary Sandinist Government of Nicaragua through economic pressures as well as political and military coercion, by training and arming the remnants of the Somozist Guards, who have proclaimed themselves to be "Nicaraguan democratic forces". These trained terrorists and mercenaries have been trying to infiltrate Nicaragua from Honduras in operations which have resulted in the killing of many innocent Nicaraguan peasants and students.

21. Considering the atrocities these self-proclaimed "democratic forces" are committing—with the help of their American masters—against the Nicaraguan people in order to establish their own brand of democracy, the question comes to mind that if American imperialism is by the remotest chance interested in what it terms democracy in Nicaragua, then how come it was the primary supporter of the most corrupt tyrants in Nicaragua for decades—until the people of Nicaragua sacrificed their lives in order to overthrow their corrupt régime and force the tryant to flee into the arms of his American masters? How can the Yankee imperialists even think that a people who has acquired awareness and has risen against tyranny can be humiliated by such simplistic tactics? A people that was strong and determined enough to defeat an established order which was unconditionally supported by the United States can easily defeat the disillusioned remnant mercenaries of that régime.

22. Expansionist and hegemonist interventions by the United States—which have become the practice in the affairs of Latin American countries—are all well known. In El Salvador, the United States has continuously supported the corrupt and unpopular régime which is involved—of course, with American weapons and along with American mercenaries, under the guise of military advisers—in massacring innocent people whose only crime is their struggle to gain their legitimate rights.

23. Moreover, Latin America is not the only victim of American intervention. It seems that the so-called backyard of the United States has expanded to include Palestine, Lebanon, Iran, the Far East and, in short, the entire globe, not to mention outer space.

24. The expansionist policy of the United States and its violation of the principles of the Charter are all justifiable to the American Administration because they are designed to protect American "national interests" and to safeguard American "national security". But has it occurred to the people in the White House that other countries might have national interests and national security concerns?

25. There seem to be indications of some insidious attempts to politicize a crisis which is definitely not simply an academic political issue to be resolved through oration and rhetorical babbling. More often than not, nations have been betrayed by the fallacy or mistake of converting a political problem into a military crisis or by the fallacy of deliberately mistaking a military crisis for a matter for political intellectualization. We could say that militarization of political problems is the art of America exclusively —if, of course, we did not have the situation in Afghanistan. And politicization of military crises and massacres is the sole privilege of the United Nations *par excellence*.

26. The Council must beware that the precious blood of Nicaraguan heroes not be trampled upon by those who are satanically preparing the ground for academic studies and conference approaches. The United States imperialists would be more than happy to attend, and even to sponsor, such conferences in order entirely to

dilute the issue and at the same time lay the foundation for further conferences and further debates.

27. American aggression against Nicaragua's revolution must be stopped and not be debated, or else the international body will be responsible for all the crimes that super-Powers, and particularly the United States, are perpetrating in the third world, including in Latin America. The international body is not meant to intellectualize military aggression and thereby pacify the victims. It must stop the act of aggression by all means. Members of the Council, who are the guardians of international peace and security, have all seen the results of the seasonal meetings and annual conferences on Palestine and the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. Those are enough. There is no need for profound studies aimed at understanding the Nicaraguan problem. Let us please ask the Americans to wash their bloody hands of Nicaragua.

28. Is it not time to let the oppressed people determine their destiny without any interference, intervention and coercion by the United States and its lackeys, or by other super-Powers? Has the time not come for United States imperialism to stop, once and for all, its militaristic policy in that part of the world? How long should the precious blood of Latin America's oppressed masses be shed by the Yankee imperialists—who are called military trainers, and not even advisers—and a bunch of friendly generals and fair-haired Christian democrats who happen to be Washington's exemplars of democracy and development? How long can Washington justify the export of death and destruction to the area through desperate recourse to the discredited domino theory?

29. The Islamic Republic of Iran condemns the latest episode—in fact, all the episodes—co-ordinated by the United States and its military aggression against the heroic Nicaraguan people and their victorious revolution. The mere fact that the invasion of Nicaragua takes place in the midst of the still ongoing propaganda campaign about the so-called El Salvador crisis and two successive joint military manoeuvres in the Caribbean clearly shows what is behind it all.

30. As part of its all-out drive to prop up made-in-the-United-States, shaky régimes, United States imperialism deems it absolutely necessary to topple or tame revolutionary peoples and Governments. Yankee imperialists, who are deeply concerned about the region's natural resources, markets and investment opportunities, etc., stop short of no crime, however heinous, to preserve and foster their ill-gotten interests. Invasion of revolutionary Nicaragua heralds the dawn of an era of United States, as well as United States-sponsored, militarism in the region.

31. While reiterating its support for the Nicaraguan people and Government in defending their just and legitimate rights, the Islamic Republic of Iran calls on the international community and all progressive and revolutionary peoples and Governments to condemn United States militaristic machinations, both direct and indirect, through local puppets, against Nicaragua and other oppressed masses of the region.

32. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Czechoslovakia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

33. Mr. SUJA (Czechoslovakia): May I begin by congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. We have witnessed your knowledgeable and experienced conduct of your extraordinarily important office. Let me wish you much success in the remainder of your term of office. May I at the same time take this opportunity to congratulate your predecessor, Mr. Troyanovsky, representative of the Soviet Union, whose guidance of the Council's work in February was outstanding.

34. Thank you, Mr. President, for giving me the opportunity to address in this body a serious threat to international peace and security: the launching of armed aggression against Nicaragua and the Sandinist national revolution, an intervention that is being escalated from the territory of Honduras while the counter-revolutionary bands of the overthrown dictator Somoza are used, an invasion made possible thanks only to all-round assistance from the United States.

35. In the face of the facts we regard the request by the Government of Nicaragua for consideration of the current culmination of the attacks against Nicaragua as fully justified. There can be no doubts as to the nature of this aggression. A number of speakers here have already provided analyses of its causes. It is a case of outside intervention, violating a number of fundamental generally recognized principles and norms of international law, including the Charter of the United Nations and the charter of the Organization of American States, as well as international legal rules clearly and unequivocally formulated in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.[2] In this respect nothing is changed by the attempts to present this act of aggression as a civil war and as an internal Nicaraguan affair.

36. At the same time, the attack against Nicaragua and the Sandinist revolution is not an isolated action in the scenario of the struggle of imperialist forces against social progress in the world. It is one of many parallel actions the common denominator of which is attacks against the sovereignty of States and against their independence and territorial integrity, actions designed to increase tensions throughout the world and to aggravate the international situation. It is one of a broad range of actions which in the final analysis increase the danger of a world-wide nuclear catastrophe.

37. The overwhelming majority of speakers have expressed themselves in favour of halting the aggression against Nicaragua and resolving by peaceful means a situation that threatens international peace and security. They have associated themselves with the resolute positions advanced so unequivocally by the Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries held at Managua in January and by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at New Delhi earlier this month. We too deem it necessary to put an end to the launching of armed bands against Nicaragua and to the interference in its internal affairs by demanding changes in its internal political system, demands that we could hear even in this United Nations body. Only halting the aggression and the intervention in the internal affairs of Nicaragua and starting negotiations represent a way that is in keeping with the Charter of the United Nations, international law and the wishes of the public of the entire world.

38. That is why we appreciate as appropriate for further consideration many of the concrete proposals, ideas and impulses aimed at a speedy and just political settlement that we have heard here. In particular I have in mind the proposal made yesterday by the Deputy Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua [*2424th meeting, paras. 46 and 47*].

39. Czechoslovakia welcomed the victory of the Sandinist revolution in a country tormented by the rule of the brutal and corrupt Somoza régime supported from abroad. We highly appreciate the successes of the Nicaraguan people achieved under the leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front and the Government of National Reconstruction in consolidating the results of the Sandinist national revolution, in rebuilding the national economy, implementing social reforms and building a new, just society. We admire the people of Nicaragua, which heroically resists the pressure from aggressive imperialist forces and defends its inalienable right freely to decide the fate of its country. We highly appreciate the peace-loving, action-oriented and active foreign policy of the Government of Nicaragua, which received recognition in this Organization through, among other things, its election to the Security Council. As was tellingly stated in a communiqué sent during an official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia by the Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua, Mr. Miguel d'Escoto Brockmann, the two countries are developing broad relations based on equality and mutual respect to the mutual benefit of both sides.

40. My country received the reports of the escalating aggression against Nicaragua with deep concern as to the impact those actions would have on international peace and security. With the Council's permission, I shall now quote from the position adopted by the Czechoslovak Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs on 26 March of this year with regard to the current escalation of the direct armed intervention against the Nicaraguan revolution and the Nicaraguan people:

> "The people and Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic express indignation over the escalation of the aggression by Somozist bands from bases in Honduras with the support of the most reactionary forces of imperialism. This aggression represents a gross violation of the integrity and sovereignty of Nicaragua and is in sharp contravention of the Charter of the United Nations and the norms of international law. It increases the tension in the subregion and gravely threatens world peace. It is a manifestation of imperialist efforts to liquidate the results of the Nicaraguan revolution and to halt the struggle of the peoples of that region for freedom and self-determination. Responsibility for the aggression must be shared by external forces that provide open encouragement as well as military and material support to the Somozists. We join the protest by the world's public and demand an immediate halt to the aggression and express our solidarity with the fighting people of Nicaragua. We welcome the initiatives of Mexico, Venezuela, Panama, Colombia and other States aimed at a peaceful settlement of the situation in Central America, and we support all proposals and measures in favour of creating conditions of mutual confidence and co-operation in the subregion."

41. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Ghana. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

42. Mr. GBEHO (Ghana): It is customary first to pay respects to the President of the Security Council on occasions such as the one I am privileged to be involved in now, and I should not miss the opportunity. But more than that, it is a pleasant duty for me personally to congratulate you, Sir, a distinguished colleague, for the rare honour bestowed upon you and to convey the esteem of my Government, which has always admired the diplomatic skill of the United Kingdom. May I also on this occasion pay a richly deserved tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Oleg Aleksandrovich Troyanovsky of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, for the exemplary leadership that he offered the Council during the month of February.

43. The cynic would wonder what stake Ghana has in this debate, which is focused basically on Central America, since we are a small and militarily weak country tucked far away in a corner in West Africa. But it ought to be made very clear that I have come to the Council today not only to fulfil an obligation that my country has always shouldered responsibly under the Charter, but also to voice our opinion on the unacceptable threat to the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of a small and non-aligned country like ours. The complaint of Nicaragua of increased acts of aggression against it should disturb all non-aligned and weak countries because it con-

stitutes further evidence of the bullying tactics of a bigger country towards a smaller neighbour. It is Nicaragua today, but our own recent national experiences indicate quite clearly to us that it may be ourselves tomorrow. Therefore we participate in the debate in the hope that our few words will be added to the words of those who abhor violence and the trampling underfoot of the principles of the Charter and the resolutions of the Organization.

44. We are concerned because when the fundamental principles of international behaviour among States are threatened, it is the weak countries such as mine that have the gravest cause for concern. It is precisely the countries members of the Non-Aligned Movement, the nations which do not possess the overwhelming military capabilities of the super-Powers or the great Powers, that depend on universal adherence to the tenets of the Charter and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations[2] and that are most alarmed by non-adherence to those principles.

45. In the last few days we have heard many speakers recount the worrisome details of the present military situation in Nicaragua and especially the attempts over the past 12 months or so to destabilize the revolution and the Government of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua. Their accounts have been incontrovertibly supported by factual accounts of the attempts being made and recently heightened by the Somoza national guard to attack civilian targets and generally to promote violence inside Nicaragua from its neighbour, Honduras. I shall not take any more of the Council's time to recount what is by now a familiar story. Let me say, however, that my references to the activities against the Sandinist Government from across the border in Honduras are serious ones, because I am one of the few Africans privileged to have witnessed with my own eyes the tense and insecure situation prevailing on the border between Nicaragua and Honduras.

46. I have listened with great attention to the statements of the representative of the United States and those representatives of Central American States who have generally supported her, but, I must confess, there are certain questions left unanswered in my own mind and, I suspect, in the minds of many of my colleagues. For example, there is no doubt that the perpetrators of violence, the Somozists, have come into Nicaragua from somewhere where they have received arms and training for their purpose. Secondly, this band of anti-Sandinist terrorists has no known budget of its own for the military hardware that it now possesses, and so it is being financed by some authority. Thirdly, there has not been a convincing denial in the past of the allegations in the media of outside interference in the affairs of Sandinist Nicaragua.

47. The Council needs no lessons in history from my delegation; suffice it to recall that the Non-Aligned Movement was set up with the aim of helping countries which had just attained hard-won independence to avoid becoming drawn into the ideological and military conflicts of the super-Powers. Each non-aligned country therefore endeavours to concentrate on the priorities of national socio-economic advancement for its people and desires nothing more than peace and stability, co-operation, sympathy and understanding from the international community.

48. What we definitely do not need is external interference, attempts to dictate or prescribe our political destinies and destabilization. It is regrettable, therefore, to see this phenomenon of destabilization rearing its ugly head in the locality of some non-aligned countries today. Much as we acknowledge that the most powerful nations have a wide range of interests in many parts of the world, we cannot accept that these strategic and other interests should impinge upon and detract from the inalienable right of sovereign countries and peoples to determine freely and without interference the political arrangements they wish to live under. We cannot accept attempts to destabilize any non-aligned country for foreign interests on the pretext that the international political arrangements of that country do not live up to some supposed moral standards, especially when no similar solicitude is displayed for the rights of countless other peoples whose oppression is glaringly apparent, such as the black majority in South Africa. We cannot accept that any State or group of States should have some inherent mandate or right to prescribe what form of government sovereign peoples should live under.

49. Ghana would like to reaffirm its adherence to the final communiqué adopted at the conclusion of the Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries held at Managua in January [*see S/15628, annex*], in which the Co-ordinating Bureau expressed solidarity with Nicaragua in its efforts to deter threats to its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. Ghana also fully subscribes to the appeal issued by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at New Delhi this month, calling for an end to hostile acts against Nicaragua and urging all countries to refrain from acts which raise tensions in the troubled Central American region [*see S/15675 and Corr.1 and 2, annex, sect. I*].

50. As I have already stated, the flagrant destabilization efforts made against Nicaragua are especially worrying because they further detract from the effectiveness of the United Nations as an organization for peace, since in the harassment of Nicaragua its principles are openly and rudely disrespected. Indeed, it does no credit to the Organization if a member of its highest organ—an organ intended for the maintenance of international peace and security—can so easily become the victim of unbridled violence fomented and promoted by other member States.

51. I know I echo the feelings of many and the conviction of my own Government when I say that the statements made in contradiction of the Nicaraguan complaint have been less than convincing. In many respects, some of them constitute classic examples of the cause of the misjudgement often heard about the task of diplomats.

52. Ghana has followed carefully the extensive debate during the past week and commends the readiness of both Nicaragua and Honduras to enter into a serious dialogue to resolve problems between them. We are pleased to note that the countries of the Central and Latin American region have undertaken important initiatives which hold the promise of facilitating peaceful solutions to the problems of the area. These efforts deserve the fullest support of the Security Council and of the international community as a whole.

53. Above all, Ghana believes that there is a grave danger of escalation of tensions in the Central American region, and therefore there is an urgent need for prompt and effective action to reduce tensions, alleviate the danger of full-scale war and give the praiseworthy efforts of various countries in the region —such as Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia and Panama—a real chance to succeed. We are aware that no dramatic action of the Council is expected to result from the present debate. However, we also caution against any counter-productive levity, with which some member States have approached the whole issue in the Council. It is our hope that members of the Council, and certainly you, Sir, as its President, will employ every available diplomatic skill in this body, and the leverage that the Council has, to ensure that the situation in Central America does not deteriorate any further or trigger a subregional unrest, but rather that there be a return to peace and harmony.

54. When a people has struggled and fought as long and as hard against such odds as have the people and the revolutionary Government of Nicaragua, it needs and deserves the respect of the international community, and those who for their own reasons would not support its heroic reconstruction efforts should at the very least not hinder them. Any actions to the contrary are not only repulsive, but also seriously undermine international democracy. We cannot believe for one moment that the Sandinist Government of Nicaragua would in all sanity choose war with its neighbours, or with the United States, for that matter, because it scarcely has the resources to prosecute such a war, or that it would prefer tension with its neighbours to living with them in peace and harmony, because without those conditions Nicaragua cannot consolidate its own political and economic programmes and, most importantly perhaps, would fritter away all its resources when they are clearly needed to reconstruct a country mercilessly devastated by the exploitation and tyranny of Somoza. The Government of Nicaragua merely wishes to be left alone to get on with the job of providing a higher living standard for its people, and the international community should help it.

55. Ghana salutes the revolutionary Government and people of Nicaragua and wishes them success in their struggle against the enemies of poverty, disease and underdevelopment, as well as in their efforts to achieve social and economic justice, without which all talk of human rights is meaningless.

56. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Uruguay. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

57. Mr. BLANCO (Uruguay) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: I wish first of all to thank the Security Council for the opportunity it has afforded my delegation to take part in the present deliberations. Mr. President, I am pleased to join in the compliments that have been offered to you on the manner in which you have conducted the Council's proceedings.

58. Uruguay follows with grave concern the distressing events that have taken place in Central America. Above and beyond political positions and ideological schemes, there lies the magnitude of human suffering that has beset so many for so long. We cannot allow these daily reports of tragic news to dull our senses by dint of repetition and weaken our power to react.

59. Nor must we allow the situation to remain frozen behind confrontations and tension.

60. My country takes part in this debate moved by these feelings and by its traditional devotion to peace. We believe, however, that this debate does not stand in the way of action that could be taken within the Organization of American States, in keeping with Article 52, paragraph 2, of the Charter of the United Nations.

61. Dialogue and negotiations within the framework of international law can and must lead to peace. This course of action, which is desirable in all cases, is particularly appropriate in the present situation involving countries which are closely bound by many ties. As members of the family of Latin American nations, we share a responsibility to co-operate in making these bonds a reality, both in constructing a common future and in destroying anything that separates us or creates antagonism.

62. Although the debate in the Security Council is not exactly what, in my delegation's opinion, is in keeping with the functions of this body and has come to resemble deliberations in the General Assembly, it has had the virtue of bringing out once again the urgency and the necessity of a solution. In addition, aside from confrontations and sometimes very deep differences, it has served to bring out certain important elements which could form part of a solution.

63. Firstly, it has been pointed out and recognized that the situation in Central America represents a complex body of internal, bilateral, regional and international factors which must be tackled. Secondly, it has also been accepted and recognized that the principle of non-intervention, universally and strictly applied, is the basis for a stable peace. Moreover, that principle is fundamental to the foreign policy of my country, for which it has always had an abiding respect. Thirdly, the Latin American countries, including those involved, have shown a willingness to co-operate in a constructive spirit in keeping with the various machinery and formulas that have been suggested here in the Council. Fourthly, such machinery exists in law for potential use. And fifthly, it has been accepted that these solutions must be reached through peaceful means, by dialogue and negotiations.

64. My delegation is well aware of the fact that there are many difficulties.

65. The delegation of Nicaragua referred to a bilateral dialogue with qualified witnesses and in parallel with a regional dialogue, also with qualified witnesses. The delegation of Honduras referred to a regional dialogue which could include bilateral aspects and in which qualified witnesses could also participate. Both positions do not entirely coincide, but they accept a dialogue; they agree that it should cover a wide range of subjects; and they have agreed to the participation, in one form or another, of other countries.

66. In my delegation's opinion, there remains the problem of defining more precisely the machinery and the procedures to be followed, as well as the order and the arrangement of topics. That is up to the parties directly concerned, although they can count on the valuable support of the Latin American community, whose readiness to co-operate has been made manifest throughout the debate.

67. Uruguay would like to urge very strongly that this course of action, begun in the midst of so many difficulties, continue to be followed, as we overcome the remaining obstacles and consolidate a stable peace in Central America. Our participation in the debate was guided by this goal of peace and solidarity with all the sister nations of Latin America.

68. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Guatemala. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

69. Mr. QUIÑONES-AMÉZQUITA (Guatemala) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: Sir, since this is the first time that Guatemala has participated in this discussion, we wish to congratulate you warmly on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for March. We are sure that your well-known ability as a diplomat will serve as a catalyst to promote the success of the debate. We should also like to take this opportunity to thank the Council for having allowed us to take part in its deliberations.

70. Guatemala takes part in these talks in the Council in order to express its concern over this further bloodshed between Central American brothers, which has added a further element to the already difficult situation. Our greatest aspiration is to seek Central American unity, the unity of what we five Central American countries call a great homeland—a *patria grande*. But that unity was been broken by unavowed interests during particularly troubled times. If we could restore that unity today, we would earn respect and enhance our prestige. We long for unity for that great Central American nation, which so badly needs the love and self-sacrifice of all its sons.

71. Some countries would portray the upheaval in Central America as the struggle of liberation movements and as an internal struggle for a change in economic structures. It is particularly noteworthy that Nicaragua has attributed the present fighting to non-Latin-American interests and that El Salvador has said that Nicaragua is the tool of countries outside the Central American region which are providing weapons, training and logistic support. Furthermore, it is also most noteworthy that during the same period guerrilla groups have emerged in all Central America and that none of the five countries have been spared. This prompts us to conclude that these problems of armed struggle are the result of foreign interference.

72. We representatives at the United Nations would be naïve indeed if we were to believe that the countries sponsoring these movements would admit that they have created them, if we were to believe that they would confess their hegemonistic designs or their strategic interests. If we Central Americans who have experienced this crisis and upheaval wish our names to remain immortal in the annals of history, we must seek areas of co-operation, paths towards understanding and peace with development in which the principles of non-intervention, non-aggression and the right of the people of every nation to the Government of its choice are respected.

73. Guatemala expresses its desire to take part in a meeting of Central American Foreign Ministers, so that it may be Central Americans who seek a solution to their problems and make an effort to obtain one. Guatemala offers its territory as the venue for such a meeting and once again expresses its faith in Central America, its desire to respect and not to intervene in the internal affairs of other countries or to promote associations for that purpose. But we also demand the same treatment in return, and we call upon Central Americans to show the world that our faith in Central America is so strong that it can overcome all obstacles and can spread throughout the world.

74. The PRESIDENT: I should now like to make some brief remarks as President. Thereafter I shall

deliver a national statement on the item on the Council's agenda in my capacity as representative of the United Kingdom.

75. Speaking as President of the Council, I must confess that I have had moments of considerable discomfort during the debate on this agenda item. It would have been embarrassing for me to have ruled speakers out of order, but equally I was embarrassed not to rule them out of order. As President I have been put in a difficult position by the way in which some speakers have taken advantage of the laxness which has crept into our procedures. Some have spoken on matters well outside the agenda item under discussion. Some have also used unhelpfully strong language which went beyond the bounds of civility. All this is bad for the Council's standing whereas the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization[1] has stressed the urgency of enhancing its standing. This prospect is one which should give Council members pause and should set limits to their own conduct in the Council as well as the standards they would expect of others.

76. As President of the Council, it is my duty to draw attention to this serious situation and to appeal to delegations, both members of the Council and delegations of non-members speaking by invitation of the Council under the provisional rules of procedure, to exercise due restraint in their interventions. Our work will achieve success only if we apply ourselves constructively to the problems which come before us. I need not dwell on the awesome duties assumed by States members of the Council, when the Charter confers on the Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, nor need I dwell on the counterpart of that, in Article 24, that the remainder of the membership of the United Nations agree that in carrying out its duties under that responsibility the Council acts on their behalf. Our efforts to fulfil the Council's mandate should not be prejudiced by an excess of vituperation or irrelevance.

77. That concludes my remarks as President of the Council. I should now like to make a brief statement in my national capacity.

78. Some of the speeches in this debate have contained what seemed to the United Kingdom delegation to be extreme and even wild accusations. They did not sound as if they were intended to promote international understanding or formed part of a serious attempt to solve problems. My delegation is not impressed by emotional and aggressive rhetoric. We dislike this way of proceeding. It is not for me to say whether other organs of the United Nations might serve the function of an escape valve for pent-up emotions, but the Security Council is a deliberative, a consultative, and ultimately even a decision-making body. It is important always to bear in mind the particular nature of the responsibilities laid upon the Council by the Charter.

79. My delegation has listened carefully to the entire debate and now wishes to consider whether anything constructive can be extracted from it.

80. Our agenda item refers to the letter of 22 March 1983 from the Deputy Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua. That provides an appropriate starting-point. In the letter, the Nicaraguan Deputy Minister raises a "grave increase in acts of aggression against Nicaragua and the Sandinist People's Revolution".

81. I assume that, by definition, the Council is not being asked to consider the internal affairs of Nicaragua. The "Sandinist People's Revolution" is an internal matter for the people of Nicaragua. The essence of the complaint, therefore, is aggression against Nicaragua. It is not stated in the letter where the aggression comes from or who the aggressor is. Nor is it explained in what sense there has been an increase in acts of aggression or how such an increase is grave. The charge, it other words, is widely phrased. On this basis, the Council is asked "as a matter of urgency" to analyse the situation because, so the letter claims, the situation endangers international peace.

82. Drawing now on the statements made during the debate, let us respond to this invitation. Let us analyse the situation as it has been described to us by the States most directly concerned.

83. First, despite the terms of the letter of 22 March, Nicaragua has not claimed to be under attack from another State. To be sure, the statement on 23 March by the Deputy Minister [*2420th meeting*] spoke about "counter-revolutionary activity", but he made it clear that the real reason why Nicaragua has come to the Council is apprehension of an attack from Honduras.

84. On the other hand, the representative of Honduras has given a clear assurance, on specific instructions, that "no movement of my country's troops will be across the border". I have confirmed the accuracy of that text from the provisional verbatim record for the afternoon of 24 March [*see 2422nd meeting, para. 166*].

85. On the face of it, we have here an assurance which deals directly with the specific complaint which Nicaragua has asked the Council to consider as a matter of urgency. My delegation sees no reason why that assurance should not be accepted by the Council.

86. The debate has, however, made clear that the apprehension of an imminent attack by Honduras is far from being the only apprehension felt by the States of the region.

87. While Nicaragua has come to the Council to complain about alleged United States attempts to destabilize that country, Honduras has referred to the "extra-continental" presence in Nicaragua and has

expressed fears that the buildup of forces in Nicaragua is directed against Honduras. The United States, Salvadorian and Honduran representatives have mentioned alleged attempts by Nicaragua to destabilize El Salvador. This is not an exhaustive list, but it is enough to show that the underlying problem is complex. It seems clear enough that the real problems of the region have many facets. These are the problems that we, as a Council, must consider pursuant to our Charter responsibilities. They appear to relate to Central America in general, even though certain countries of that region seem at the moment to be suffering more severely than others.

88. At any rate, my delegation is impressed by the way the countries of the region have described the situation. In their statements they refer constantly to "Central America".

89. The representative of Colombia read out part of the Contadora declaration, and I now quote from that:

> "[The Ministers] made an urgent appeal to all the countries of the Central American area to engage in dialogue and negotiation so as to reduce tensions and lay the foundations for a permanent atmosphere of peaceful co-existence and mutual respect among States." [*See 2422nd meeting, para. 41.*]

90. The representative of Panama also stressed the importance of restoring peace in Central America and mentioned the appeal to all the countries of the Central American area [*2421st meeting*].

91. The representative of Mexico spoke of the crisis in Central America. He urged that the Security Council "cannot, without jeopardizing its prestige and authority, disregard the dangers which quite obviously are threatening international peace and security in Central America" [*ibid., para. 23*].

92. The Deputy Minister of Nicaragua made an eloquent appeal. He said:

> "We appeal to the members of the Council and to the international community to exert their efforts to develop in a co-ordinated manner a policy conducive to peaceful, negotiated solutions in the Central American region.
>
> "For its part, Nicaragua reiterates its willingness to enter into a dialogue on Central American problems, its readiness to tackle immediately the problems and differences that have arisen as a result of military actions in the northern border area with Honduras and its open, constructive attitude with regard to any type of peaceful solution to the crisis in the Central American region." [*See 2420th meeting, paras. 42 and 43.*]

93. The Foreign Minister of Honduras has also pleaded for negotiation and co-operation on a regional basis; these pleas carried conviction to my delegation. For example, he said:

> "Honduras reaffirms its unshakeable decision to begin as soon as possible a multilateral dialogue, first and foremost with the Central American countries and open to other democratically governed Latin American countries in the Caribbean. We believe that this is the right way to reach responsible and serious agreements that will strengthen peace and security in the region." [*See 2424th meeting, para. 12.*]

94. In short, it seems to my delegation that among the States most directly affected there is in principle widespread agreement to an attempt to reach understanding in the Central American region, among the Central American States themselves and with the benevolent assistance of some other Latin American States. If the problem concerned only Central America, that might have been enough.

95. However, as I have already noted it has been alleged that the problem has wider dimensions. These additional potential dimensions cannot be ignored in a case where regional initiatives have hitherto proved insufficient. Something more may have to be added. My delegation ventures to suggest that something more should, indeed, be added. That something, we consider, could well be the good offices of the Secretary-General. Under Article 36 of the Charter, the Security Council may, at any stage of a situation the continuation of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment.

96. My delegation believes that there is widespread agreement that the appropriate method for resolving the problems of the region would be a dialogue among the States of the region, perhaps in the form of a conference to consider the problems of Central America, which would include bilateral as well as multilateral problems and in which other Latin American States might be asked to participate, as necessary and appropriate.

97. Given this measure of agreement, it seems that a fruitful role for the Security Council to play would be to assist in bringing such a dialogue into being, and that the good offices of the Secretary-General could be an effective means towards that end. If a conference were to emerge as the most promising route, a number of questions would need to be resolved, including its terms of reference, its date and place, its composition, the status of the participants, and so forth. Points of this sort cannot be laid down by the Council in advance; it would be far better for the Secretary-General to have the freedom, in the exercise of his good offices, to discuss all of these questions with the States concerned. We are confident that if this approach were acceptable to all, then the Secretary-General himself would be willing to play his part.

98. Having said that, and having analysed the situation for the Council, I should like to make it plain that

the United Kingdom would not seek a role in any such conference.

99. I now resume my function as President of the Council. I call on the representative of Nicaragua.

100. Mr. TINOCO (Nicaragua) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: First of all, Nicaragua wishes to thank the members of the Security Council and the Members of the United Nations who have participated in this debate for the concern that they have expressed over the situation in the region and over the acts of aggression of which our country has been victim.

101. The Council has now held eight meetings to become aware of and grasp the seriousness of the events reported on by Nicaragua—the development, that is, of a new stage of aggression by the American Administration against Nicaragua by means of the massive infiltration of Somozist bands from Honduran territory. We have also drawn the attention of the Council to the fact that these counter-revolutionary forces do not in themselves constitute a military threat to the stability of the Nicaraguan revolution, but that the real and potential danger was and is the fact that those counter-revolutionary activities may be only a diversionary or secondary aspect of a more general plan engineered by the American Administration to seek the involvement of other forces in the area in a coup aimed at the more economically, politically and militarily sensitive areas of the country, the ultimate purpose of which would be the overthrow of the Nicaraguan Government.

102. Today, we would repeat that this danger continues in latent form.

103. In the face of this escalation of aggression, the Government of Nicaragua wishes to repeat today what we said last Wednesday—that as regards the internal life of Nicaragua, in spite of aggression, we plan to continue and redouble the efforts of the Nicaraguan people in productive labour in order to surpass what are already production records in Nicaragua. We plan to continue political pluralism and public freedoms at their normal levels in Nicaragua in spite of the efforts of the Somozist bands and the war being pursued by the American Administration. We plan to continue to fight for the economic development of our country and for a more just distribution of our national income.

104. In view of the serious situation besetting the region and the possibility of its aggravation, we once again stress our devotion to peace and our readiness for dialogue. We would repeat the proposals already put forward in the Council to the Government of Honduras for a high-level dialogue between our two countries in the presence of high-level witnesses. A proposal has been made to the Government of the United States immediately to begin talks at the highest possible level in a place and at a time considered appropriate. And we would once again remind the Council of Nicaragua's willingness to explore any other initiative or formulation that is just and seeks negotiations and peace for the region.

105. From the information that has been given during these meetings of the Council, from the various attacks by Honduran military units in Nicaraguan territory that have taken place over the past week and from the information reported in the international mass media, it can be concluded that the danger of internationalization of the conflict along the Honduran-Nicaraguan border continues. For that reason it is necessary that the Council remain alert to the development of events.

106. As all who have participated in these meetings know, the decision of the American Administration to continue with its plans and aggressive actions remains unchanged. Those plans are aimed at the overthrow of the Revolutionary Government of Nicaragua. It is clear to all present that the American Administration at all levels—from President Reagan through Secretary of State Shultz to Mrs. Kirkpatrick, the representative of the United States on the Security Council—has declined to reject the specific accusations levelled by the delegation of Nicaragua: namely, first, that it is advising and directing the strategy and details of the activities of the Somozist revolutionary bands that have infiltrated into Nicaraguan territory; secondly, that they have officially approved funds in the amount of at least $19.9 million for the American Administration to finance and develop the activities of those counter-revolutionary bands, whose purpose it is to overthrow the Revolutionary Government of Nicaragua; and thirdly, that there exist in the United States training camps for counter-revolutionary Somozists who wish to overthrow the Revolutionary Government of Nicaragua.

107. Today's issue of *The New York Times* contains an article entitled "U.S. not denying Sandinist charges"* and subtitled "Refuses to dispel impression that it is helping forces fighting in Nicaragua".* It quotes a State Department spokesman, Alan Romberg, as saying that there is "a bit of psychological warfare" in the silence of the United States when these accusations are levelled at it.

108. But this is not psychological warfare; it is a real war promoted by the United States against Nicaragua. The automatic weapons, the C-4 explosives and the grenade launchers made in the United States, on which Stephen Kinzer reported in yesterday's issue of *The New York Times*, are all real—and Mr. Kinzer was reporting on a visit he had made to a counter-revolutionary camp in Honduran territory. The widowed Nicaraguans, the children wounded and the peasants decapitated as a result of aggression promoted by the United States are not the victims of psychological warfare.

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

109. What could be considered psychological and extremely dangerous is that, by its assurance, silence and the scorn with which it has responded to the international community's accusations that it is destabilizing Nicaragua, the United States has got the international community to feel that perhaps such an attitude towards obvious facts is natural and normal. This is dangerous because the further escalation of such activities could also be claimed to be normal in keeping with the silence and policy of speedy and aggressive action of the present Administration.

110. It is extremely dangerous to allow scorn for international public opinion to become a norm of the daily conduct of a country, especially a Power such as the United States. The Security Council must ensure that this political conduct in international relations is not accepted, for it is very similar to the scorn shown by a criminal for the society that accuses him of a crime. We call on the Council to be alert to these events.

111. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Honduras.

112. Mr. ORTEZ COLINDRES (Honduras) *(interpretation from Spanish):* I had thought that at the conclusion of the Council's deliberations the volume of accusations would go down and there would be a willingness to bring about peace, and the Organization would have been able to tell the world the result of its deliberations. Now, however, in spite of the regrets and our wishes, the words we have just heard have sent us back to where we started.

113. We are not going to engage in mutual accusations or in a fruitless counter-attack. However, only to make the job of the Council easier, I should like to refer to a few specific points that you, Mr. President, so aptly made. You spoke as representative of your country, with the respect and deep awareness of the experienced diplomat, in order to preserve the greatest equilibrium when serving as Council President. Your statement, Sir, gave us a most valuable summation of the views of some Latin American countries that wish to help us define the parameters of the danger and of a dialogue. You also synthesized the position of those countries of good faith from every continent that do want to halt the daily increase in conflagrations throughout the world.

114. I would urge the Council take the President's observations to heart, for he has summed up perfectly my country's approach to the subject. Indeed, I might have made the same comments, except for my wish not to compromise the sound judgement that he demonstrated in his statement.

115. However, we greatly regret that the Deputy Minister of Nicaragua has once again charged that military forces from Honduras have attacked the Government of Nicaragua. We have made a promise which we have kept, and we repeat our readiness to continue it, because as the President has said, it is the key charge in the conflict and is being levelled within the framework of a political strategy to consolidate the radicalization of the repressive Nicaraguan system.

116. I shall try to count to ten in order not to continue these disputes and squabbles.

117. There are fundamental causes that have been reported in the newspapers for months now. It is probable that the Nicaraguan Government is consolidating itself, or it is probable that its own people are repudiating it, but the Government of Honduras, as a responsible force, will never cross the border in an invasion.

118. I have special instructions from my Government not to use the reporters of *The New York Times* as witnesses, who for one reason or another must have wished to frustrate Mr. Reagan's re-election—that is the exclusive affair of the Americans. We repeat, the conflict, the argument, the shots that are being fired are being made by Nicaraguans within Nicaragua to overthrow the Nicaraguan régime.

119. Another important point I should like to make as part of my concluding statement is that Nicaragua has a *sui generis* interpretation of the Charter of the United Nations and of the solemn principle of non-intervention. You have repeatedly heard Governments such as that of El Salvador and my own say that Nicaragua's official media are trying not only to consolidate the Nicaraguan régime—which they are entitled to do, and to live in peace—but are also continuing to blame my country. Honduras is an equilateral triangle in the area. We have common borders with three countries involved in revolution: one for 25 or 29 years, another for three or four years, and then Nicaragua, where the struggle has been going on since the fall of General Somoza. We are the fulcrum of a regional system whose back is being broken by external assistance from countries that have traditionally been our friends but that today cannot understand that this is not an isolated problem and that the assistance they are giving to Nicaragua at the present time should be given in the form of grain, foodstuffs and medicine—assistance in which we would be willing to participate—not in the form of rockets, rockets which are air-to-surface missiles, which are offensive weapons that disrupt regional stability.

120. Consequently, we feel that Nicaragua is fully entitled to invoke the principle of non-intervention, and we wish to respect that. But we do not want troops, trucks, aircraft and ships violating our land, sea and air space in order to overthrow régimes that are entitled to resolve their problems in an independent manner.

121. Finally, to make our position clear, Honduras once again wishes to state that it accepts dialogue with

Nicaragua, without any restrictions whatsoever, so that we can discuss bilateral and regional problems. There must be a serious agenda. There must be proper preparations for the meeting, and we would like that meeting to include not only the two countries, for after engaging in mutual recriminations for eight meetings, when we get back home the two of us are liable to be throwing crockery at each other, which would be disastrous for the stability of the region. That is why there must be present those five brothers who have stated today that the problems are all interrelated.

122. I did not want to quote *The New York Times*, but whether one likes it or not it is a newspaper that must be read. Today, there were two articles, among others: one about a Middle East country whose ministers have gone to Nicaragua offering MiG aircraft—which could further radicalize the conflict—and the other containing reports from Costa Rica and Managua in which official spokesmen of the Government of Nicaragua today announce that there has been fighting along the southern border with Costa Rica, for there, too, there has been fierce fighting and, we could say, loss of life. I hope that that report, about which not much was made and which must be added to the many others press reports that have been mentioned, is unfounded, for it would be regrettable indeed were the conflict to spread to the fraternal Republic of Costa Rica.

123. I repeat that we do not want to specify with which distinguished witnesses the five Central American countries should meet, in order to avoid placing any restrictions on the dialogue. We will accept any democratic country that the five Central American countries choose by consensus to be seated at the negotiating table. That would be all.

124. We have seen no formal, written accusation from the Government of Nicaragua that substantiates its journalistic statements. We have heard a suggestion that we very much welcome as deserving of respect. I refer to what you, Mr. President, said about the possible participation of the Secretary-General in a future dialogue based on the particular Article of the Charter that would allow him, provided that he is so authorized by the Council, to take such an initiative. Indeed, when we had a preliminary dialogue in the Secretariat offices, we were very pleased and felt that such an initiative could make a fundamental contribution to peace.

125. I have precise instructions from my Government to say that with regard to international supervision, proper agreements and the limitation of weapons, we see the United Nations imprimatur as a universal guarantee.

126. The PRESIDENT: There are no other speakers; the Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.

NOTES

[1] See XXVI:227.

[2] General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), annex.

[3] *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 1* (A/37/1).

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